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Women pilots, pilot girls, aviatrices, and their equivalents in the Polish language: On gender marking in English and Polish

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Abstract

This paper examines the phenomenon of gender marking in names of professions, as exemplified by terms referring to female pilots in English and Polish. Special emphasis is laid on English N+N compounds, such as *women pilots*, *pilot girls*, and Polish N+N juxtapositions, such as *kobieta pilot* (lit. woman pilot). The issue of headedness of such compounds (and compound-like expressions) is discussed briefly.

1. Introduction

According to Doleschal (2015: 1159), “gender marking is a way of explicitly signalling that a linguistic expression refers to a male or female being (person or animal).” She emphasizes the fact that the discussion of gender marking usually boils down to the discussion of the ways of forming female forms. While Jakobson (1971) treats masculine forms as gender-indefinite, Doleschal (2015: 1161) notes that they have gender-specific (i.e., male) reading and that the generic (gender-indefinite) reading can be regarded “as a kind of synecdoche where the prototypical case (male) stands for the whole category (human).”

Gender-marked forms in English can be derived by, among others, suffixation, as shown by the derivatives *actress*, *empress*, *creatress*, *tigress* (which contain the female suffix *-ess*), *aviatrix*, *creatix* (the suffix *-trix*), *usherette*, *stemette*¹ (the suffix *-ette*), *equestrienne* (the suffix *-enne*), and *heroine* (the suffix *-ine*). A far more productive way of forming female nouns is composition (i.e., compounding), as evidenced by the forms *woman writer*, *lady doctor*, *shepherd girl*, and *girlfriend*.² Yet another mechanism available in English to contrast

¹ *Stemette* is defined as “a female who has the capacity to go into one or more of the STEM fields,” such as science, technology, engineering, and maths (see <http://www.stemettes.org>).

² See, among others, Szymanek (1989: 209–212) and Bauer et al. (2013: 242–243) for more examples of word-formation processes used in deriving female nouns.

agent nouns referring to men and women is the syntactic one, namely, the use of attributive adjectives *male* and *female*, as in *male and female managers*.

The usage of those English word-formational and syntactic mechanisms in coining terms referring to women who are pilots will be investigated in Section 2, on the basis of data coming mainly from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Section 3 will focus on the issue of identifying heads in N+N compounds, such as *women pilots* and *pilot girls*.

Some comments on the issue of gender marking in Polish names of professions will be offered in Section 4. Section 5 will present Polish expressions referring to female pilots which are attested in the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP). Section 6 will be devoted to Polish N+N juxtapositions, such as *kobietta-pilot* (lit. woman pilot). It will contain a brief discussion of the headedness of such juxtapositions. Conclusions will be summarized in Section 7.

2. Gender marking in English: women in aviation

Let us examine the data from COCA, supplemented by results of web searches, to see what types of expressions are used in English to refer to female equivalents of (male) pilots.

Bauer et al. (2013: 243) observe that female suffixes, such as *-ess* and *-ette*, “are rarely used in an evaluatively neutral fashion in contemporary English.” Female nouns containing such suffixes tend to carry negative connotations, that is, signalling belittlement, contempt, or jocularity.

The suffixal formation *aviatrix* ‘a female aviator, a female aircraft pilot,’ derived from the male, or neutral-gender, noun *aviator*, is not felt to be pejorative. It is marked as “dated” in online dictionaries (see, e.g., <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/aviatrix>), where it is indicated that the use of this term was frequent in the first half of the twentieth century. The singular form *aviatrix* appears 37 times in COCA. There is also one attestation of the irregular plural form *aviatrices* and one occurrence of the regular plural *aviatrixes* in the corpus. However, the contemporary texts in which *aviatrix* is used usually refer to female pilots of the past century, as shown below.

- (1) a) Pioneering aviatrix Mariana Dragescu died in Bucharest on March 24, 2013, at the age of 100. (COCA_2015_MAG_Military Hist)
- b) AMELIA EARHART, Aviatrix: excerpt of 1935 speech (COCA_1996_SPOKNPR_Weekend)

The noun *pilotess* ‘female pilot,’ derived from *pilot* by means of the suffix *-ess*, is mentioned in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (<https://en.oxforddictionaries>).

com/definition/pilotess) as an early 19th century derived formation, yet it does not appear in the COCA corpus.³

The compound *lady pilot* has four attestations in COCA. Its occurrence appears to be conditioned by stylistic or regional factors.⁴ In Sentence (2a), this compound may call for a jocular or insulting interpretation. Sentence (2b) represents South African English, as it comes from a website of a South African woman pilot, who comments on a professional uniform of female cabin crew.

- (2) a) Do you want to be my wife or do you want to be some lady pilot? Choose carefully now or you'll find yourself back in your daddy's house [...] (COCA_1992_MAG_Essence)
- b) LADY PILOTS' GROOMING GUIDELINES
(www.trembath.co.za/Image%20Guidelines.pdf)

The compound *woman pilot* is a stylistically neutral form, fairly common in COCA. Its singular form appears 17 times in the corpus, and its plural form (*women pilots*) has 35 attestations.

- (3) a) Helene Boucher on the wall. I remembered that Boucher was the first French woman pilot. (COCA_2001_FIC_Succesd'Estime)
- b) A fascination with aviation has led these three women pilots on amazing flight paths of their own. (COCA_2006_NEWS_CSMonitor)

Even more common in the corpus is the Adjective+Noun pattern, that is, *female pilot* (36 attestations of the singular form and 26 attestations of the plural form *female pilots* in COCA). This is illustrated in (4a) and (4b).

- (4) a) Listen, only a few schools in the country train female pilots. (COCA_2012_FIC_ScholScope)
- b) [...] if ordered to choose between an inferior male pilot and a much better female pilot, he would choose the male. (COCA_1994_ACAD_ArmedForces)

The same author may use *female pilot* and *woman pilot* interchangeably, to avoid the repetition of a single form, as in (5).

- (5) Mechanics along the route were so thrilled and impressed with the young female pilot (they'd never met a woman pilot before) [...] (COCA_1995_MAG_SatEvenPost)

³ The COCA search returns one occurrence of the form *pilotess* in the phrase *remote-controlled pilotess drones*, yet it seems to be a typographic error (instead of *pilotless drones*).

⁴ Web searches show that the compound *lady pilot* occurs also as a constituent of some product names (e.g., the Daytona Lady Pilot GTX Boots) or a name of a shop (<https://www.etsy.com/shop/ladypilotletterpress>).

Google searches attest to the usage of some other N+N compounds denoting women in aviation, including *pilot girl*, *girl pilot*, and *aviator girl*.

- (6) a) PILOT GIRL LANDING AT CANCUN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ...
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sNGhjG_4-1E)
- b) Girl pilot flying a Gulfstream jet. Takeoff, alternator failure & landing
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uywpIT4mGYI>)
- c) Tattoo flash – aviator girl (<https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/211458144975623492/>)

Furthermore, the COCA search returns two instances of the attributive N+N compound *airwoman* and two instances of its plural form *airwomen*. The compound is restricted semantically, as it denotes a female military pilot (as does its male counterpart *airman* ‘a member of a British or US force with a low rank’). The sentence in (7a) shows that the usage of gender marked forms, such as *airwomen*, may stem from the speaker’s desire to contrast female and male referents.

There are also 10 occurrences of the plural Verb+Noun compound *fly girls* and 16 instances of its singular form *fly girl*. The compound can refer to female pilots, for instance, when used in the phrase *the fly girls of World War II*.

- (7) a) However, in 1988, the RAF reviewed the rationale for having only 5,000 trained airwomen but 70,000 trained men. (COCA_1996_ACAD_ArmedForces)
- b) They were the fly girls of World War II, covering 60 million miles of operation flights in 78 different types of military aircraft, from the fastest fighters to the heaviest bombers. (COCA_2010_SPOK_PBS_NewsHour)

However, the expression *fly girl* can also show a range of other (less compositional) readings, as in (8). The online *Urban Dictionary* defines *fly girl* as ‘backup dancer in music videos (primarily rap)’ (www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=fly%20girl).⁵

- (8) a) Lopez came back to the States, where she was hired as one of the Fly Girls on TV’s “In Living Color.” (COCA_2000_NEWS_Chicago)
- b) [...] see “From Shy Girl to Fly Girl” sidebar for more tips [...] (COCA_2001_MAG_Essence)

⁵ Other online dictionaries mention the meaning of *fly girl* as ‘prostitute’ in the 19th century England, as well as the US usage ‘an attractive female (in US high schools)’ (www.definition-of.com/fly-girl) or ‘a woman who goes to lots of parties’ (http://dictionary.babylon-software.com/fly_girl/).

In the next section, attention will be focused on N+N expressions, such as *women pilots*. I will discuss their status as appositional compounds and the identification of their heads.

3. Headedness of English appositional compounds

Appositional compounds consist of two (or more) elements which can be recognized as being equivalent in status (Bauer 2004: 18; Haspelmath and Sims 2010). They provide description of the same referent, as can be illustrated by the English compounds *singer-songwriter*, *learner-driver*, *maid-servant*, or *fighter-bomber*.

Such compounds are given different names by various morphologists. Some scholars, including Olsen (2001, 2004), use the term “copulative compounds” when referring to such English lexical items as *poet-translator*, *murder-robbery*, or *camper-trailer*. Jackendoff (2010) employs the term “dvandva” when talking about the English compounds *pantyhose* and *tractor-trailer*. Scalise and Bisetto (2009) in their novel compound taxonomy adopt the term “coordinate compound.” They point out that constituents of coordinate compounds can be connected by the conjunction *and*, as is indicated by the relevant paraphrases, for instance, *poet-translator* ‘both a poet and a translator,’ *fridge-freezer* ‘both a fridge and a freezer.’

Many scholars regard English compounds with the *man/woman* constituent (e.g., *man servant*, *woman writer*) as belonging to the same group as *poet-translator*, *waiter-bartender*, or *fridge-freezer*. Jackendoff (2010) mentions *woman doctor* and *fisherman* as examples of dvandvas. Olsen (2001, 2004) recognizes *woman pilot* and *woman writer* as representing a subtype of copulative compounds, namely, Sex+Profession compounds. Miller (2014: 60) includes *woman doctor*, *girlfriend*, *shepherd girl*, and *lady doctor* into the class of appositional/identificational compounds (together with *merchant-adventurer*, *singer-guitarist*, and *owner-builder*). Consequently, the term “appositional” will be employed here with reference to *woman pilot* or *pilot girl*.

Nevertheless, mention needs to be made of a different position, which is taken by Renner (2008) and Bauer (2008). The two scholars assume that since the only function of the left-hand constituent in *woman writer* or *girlfriend* is to mark the sex of the referent, it has a less important status than the right-hand constituent. Some arguments against such a view will be mentioned in the present section. First, however, the notion of “head” of a compound will be explained.

The head of a compound is its most important element. It determines the semantic interpretation as well as morphosyntactic properties of a morphologically complex word. For instance, *mouse* in the noun-noun compound

church mouse is the head, while *church* functions as the modifier (see Haspelmath and Sims 2010: 144). The compound noun *lazybones* is exocentric since it lacks a semantic head (i.e., ‘person’). The whole compound is not a hyponym of its right-hand constituent, as *lazybones* does not denote a type of bones but a type of a person. Similarly, *cutthroat* is exocentric since it is not a hyponym of a throat. It can be paraphrased as ‘a murderer, a person who cuts throats.’ The use of IS A Condition (proposed by Allen 1978) is a method of identifying the semantic head of a compound. The application of this method suggests that English appositional noun-noun compounds, such as *singer-guitarist* or *fighter-bomber*, can be regarded as having two semantic heads (see Fabb 1998).

- (9) IS A Condition applied to *singer guitarist*
 a) A singer-guitarist is a singer.
 b) A singer-guitarist is a guitarist

Haspelmath and Sims (2010: 143–144) indicate the possibility of distinguishing between the semantic head and the formal head of the compound. The constituent *throat* is the formal (but not semantic) head of the compound *cutthroat* since it determines its word-class (the whole compound being a noun) and it takes the inflectional ending (i.e., the plural marker *-s* in *cutthroats*).

While the appositional compound *singer-guitarist* can be treated as double-headed semantically, it has only one formal head (which is the right-hand constituent), as is shown by the plural form *singer-guitarists*.

Scalise and Fábregas (2010) bifurcate the notion of the formal head (of a compound) into two concepts: the categorial head (which determines the compound’s syntactic category) and the morphological head (which transmits inflectional properties to the compound, such as gender or inflectional class). Masini and Scalise (2013) distinguish between morphological and morphosyntactic heads. They assume that the morphosyntactic head is the locus of inflection, while the morphological head determines the gender of a morphologically complex word. These types of heads are identified for the Italian noun-noun compound *nave traghetto* ‘ferry boat.’

- (10) a) *nave traghetto*
 boat.F ferry.M
 ‘ferry boat’
 b) *navi traghetto*
 boat.F.PL ferry.M
 ‘ferry boats’

Masini and Scalise (2013) suggest that the compound in (10) has two semantic heads but only one morphosyntactic head, that is, the left-hand constituent *nave*

‘ferry,’ which is the locus of inflection. *Nave* is also the morphological head since it transmits the feminine gender to the whole compound.

The split between various types of heads can be illustrated for English appositional compounds denoting female nouns.

The result of the application of IS A Condition to *woman pilot* or *pilot girl* can be construed as indicating that both constituents are semantic heads (contrary to the view expressed by Renner 2008 and Bauer 2008).

(11) IS A Condition applied to *woman pilot*

- a) A woman-pilot is a woman.
- b) A woman-pilot is a pilot.

(12) IS A Condition applied to *pilot girl*

- a) A pilot-girl is a pilot.
- b) A pilot girl is a girl.

The reversibility of compound constituents can be regarded as the additional proof of the equivalent semantic status of two elements of appositional compounds, for example, *singer-songwriter*, *songwriter-singer* (or *singer-actor*, *actor-singer*). As far as compounds denoting women in aviation are concerned, some of them are indeed reversible, for instance, *pilot girl* and *girl pilot*. For other compound nouns, the change of the constituent order results in an unacceptable or awkward formation (such as *?pilot woman*), since only one of the word orders may be institutionalized.

The morphosyntactic heads of the compounds *pilot girl*, *aviator girl*, and *girl pilot* are their right-hand constituents. They take inflectional endings, as shown by the plural forms *pilot girls*, *aviator girls*, and *girl pilots*. English has natural gender system, unlike Italian (discussed by Masini and Scalise 2013). If we assume that the element *girl(s)* is the morphological head in both *pilot girls* and *girl-pilots* (since the meaning of *girl* determines the natural gender of the whole compounds), then a mismatch can be observed between the morphosyntactic head of *girl pilots* (which is the right-hand constituent *pilots*) and the morphological head (i.e., the left-hand element *girl*).

In the case of appositional compounds in which *woman* or *man* occurs on the left,⁶ both constituents can be treated as morphosyntactic heads since they are both inflected, as in *women pilots*, *women drivers*, *women writers*, *men voters*, *menservants*, and *women slaves*. Natural gender is transmitted by the left-hand element, which can therefore be (potentially) recognized as the morphological head.

⁶ When *man* or *woman* occurs as the right-hand constituent of an appositional compound, it is the sole morphosyntactic head, since the left-hand constituent does not take the inflectional endings, see *slave women* (and neither **slaves women* nor **slaves woman*) or *servant women* (not **servants women*).

Attributive compounds,⁷ such as *airwoman*, show a different pattern of transmission of inflectional properties than *women pilots*, since only the right-hand compound member is inflected, as shown by *airwomen* vs. **airswomen*. Furthermore, the compound *airwoman* is not reversible (see **womanair*), and the right-hand constituent is the single semantic head.

4. Gender marking in Polish

There are several suffixes in Polish which can be attached to nouns to derive female forms, such as *-ka*, *-ica*, *-ini/-yni* and *-owa* (see Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina 1984; Szymanek 2010).⁸ They are exemplified in (13).⁹

- (13) a) *kelnerka* ‘waitress’ (from *kelner* ‘waiter’ + *-ka*)
 b) *śpiewaczka* ‘female singer’ (from *śpiewak* ‘singer’ + *-ka*)
 c) *diablica* ‘she-devil, shrew’ (from *diabeł* ‘devil’ + *-ica*)
 d) *dozorczyni* ‘female janitor’ (from *dozorca* ‘janitor’ + *-yni*)
 e) *krawcowa* ‘seamstress’ (from *krawiec* ‘tailor’ + *-owa*)

As observed by several scholars (among others, Jadacka 2005 and Szymanek 2010: 72), some potential suffixal female forms are not used for sociolinguistic reasons, or the acceptability of such formations varies among native speakers of Polish. Structurally well-formed suffixal female nouns, such as *?premierka* ‘female prime minister,’ *?naukowczyni* ‘female researcher,’ or *?krytyczka* ‘female critic,’ are often treated as awkward and artificial, or as insulting and patronizing. Such a feeling may result from the difference in the status of selected female and male nouns denoting professions, for example, *professor* ‘professor’ – *profesorka* ‘female high school teacher,’ *sekretnarz* ‘(often male) official who is in charge of various affairs of an organization, such as correspondence, records and minutes of meetings’ – *sekretnarka* ‘female employee handling routine clerical work.’ Nouns ending with the suffix *-ka* may exhibit ambiguity. The word *magisterka*, apart from being a potential female equivalent of *magister* ‘master (a person holding the degree of MA or MSc),’ occurs as a colloquial equivalent of the N+A expression *praca magisterska* (lit. work master.ADJ) ‘master thesis.’

⁷ According to Scalise and Bisetto (2009), in attributive compounds, for example, *atomic bomb* or *redskin*, the non-head constituent expresses some property of the head.

⁸ Female forms in Polish can also be formed by affixless derivation (i.e., conversion), as shown by the pair *woźny* ‘(school) caretaker, janitor’ – *woźna* ‘female (school) janitor.’

⁹ The addition of female suffixes is sometimes accompanied by allomorphic variation, for example, /k/ – /č/ allomorphy in the derivation of *śpiewaczka* ‘female singer’ or /ts/ – /č/ allomorphy in the derivation of *dozorczyni* ‘female janitor.’

On the other hand, as observed by Szymanek (2010: 72) and as noted by the Council for the Polish Language (Rada Języka Polskiego) in their opinion issued on 19th March 2012,¹⁰ currently some (especially feminist) speakers of Polish promote the usage of female forms¹¹ of titles and professions in order to raise the visibility of women in the language and in the labour market.

Other speakers of Polish, who find the forms *?naukowczyni* ‘female scientist,’ *?premierka* ‘female prime minister,’ or *?krytyczka* ‘female critic’ unacceptable, employ masculine nouns as gender-indefinite forms. The reference to a female agent is then expressed by the inflectional female gender marker on accompanying modifiers,¹² as in *o nowej premier* (lit. about new.LOC.F prime_minister) ‘about (the) new female Prime Minister,’ and/or by the polite form *pani* ‘madam,’ as in *pani krytyk filmowa* (lit. madam critic film.ADJ.F) ‘female film critic’ or *z nową panią premier* (lit. with new.INS.F madam.INS.F prime_minister) ‘with (the) new female Prime Minister.’

Yet another pattern which is available in Polish for signaling the female reference of nouns is the usage of noun-noun juxtapositions, as in (14).

- (14) a) *kobieta piłkarz*
 woman.F football_player.M
 ‘female football player’
 b) *piłkarz kobieta*
 football_player.M woman.F
 ‘female football player’

The occurrence of various female equivalents of the male (or gender-neutral) agent noun *pilot* ‘pilot; travel guide; co-driver (in a car rally)’ will be investigated in the next section on the basis of data from the National Corpus of the Polish Language (NKJP).

5. Female counterparts of the word *pilot* ‘pilot’ in Polish

The noun *pilot*, which is the Polish equivalent of the English word *pilot*, exhibits more senses than its English equivalent. Apart from denoting someone

¹⁰ See (http://www.rjp.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1359:stanowisko-rady-zyka-polskiego-w-sprawie-eskich-form-nazw-zawodow-i-tytuow).

¹¹ Suffixal female forms such as *premierka* ‘female prime minister,’ *naukowczyni* ‘female scientist,’ *docentka* ‘female associate professor,’ and *polityczka* ‘female politician’ appear, among others, in *Wysokie Obcasy*, which is a supplement to the Sunday issues of *Gazeta Wyborcza* (see, for instance, Leniarska and Więcka 2016 and their article on 50 influential women in Poland in the issue of *Wysokie Obcasy* from 31st December 2016).

¹² The feminine reference of the (putatively) gender-indefinite noun is additionally signalled by the lack of declensional endings on the noun in question.

who operates an aircraft, it can refer to a person who conducts tour expeditions (i.e., a travel guide) and to a navigator of a rally car.¹³

The most common female counterpart of *pilot* employed in the Polish NKJP corpus turns out to be the suffixal derivative *pilotka* ‘female pilot; female travel guide; female rally navigator,’ in spite of its potential ambiguity between the agentive and the concrete reading (i.e., the sense ‘aviator hat’).¹⁴ There are 270 attestations of the word-form *pilotka* ‘female pilot’ (NOM.SG) in the corpus.¹⁵ As shown in (15b), the noun *pilotka* ‘female pilot’ can be accompanied by classifying adjectives which carry feminine declensional endings, such as *szybowcowa* ‘glider.ADJ.NOM.SG.F.’

- (15) a) *Chwilę później linę odczepili jednocześnie*
 moment later rope.ACC released.3PL simultaneously
pilot samolotu i pilotka szybowca.
 pilot.NOM.M aircraft.GEN and female_pilot.NOM.F glider.GEN
 ‘A few moments later the (male) pilot of the aircraft and the female pilot of the glider released the (towing) rope simultaneously.’ (NKJP_Dziennik Polski)
- b) *Pięknie zapisała się na kartach historii*
 beautifully inscribed.3F.SG REFL on pages.LOC history.GEN
polska pilotka szybowcowa – Pelagia Majewska [...].
 Polish female_pilot.NOM.F gliding.ADJ.NOM.F Pelagia Majewska
 ‘Polish female glider pilot, Pelagia Majewska [...] earned her place in history.’ (NKJP_Dziennik Zachodni)

There are 11 examples of the N-N juxtaposition *kobieta-pilot* (lit. woman.F pilot.M) ‘woman pilot’ (NOM.SG form) and one example of *pilot-kobieta* (lit. pilot.M woman.F).

- (16) a) *jedyna kobieta pilot ponadźwiękowego*
 only.NOM.F woman.NOM.F pilot.NOM.M supersonic.GEN.M
Concorda
 Concorde.GEN.M

¹³ The word *pilot* in Polish exhibits also non-agentive senses, such as ‘remote control’ and ‘the first episode of a new TV series.’

¹⁴ There is also one attestation (in the NKJP corpus) of the noun *awiatorka* ‘aviatrix,’ which is derived by means of the suffix *-ka* from the (masculine or gender-neutral) noun *awiator* ‘aviator.’ Interestingly, the suffixal derivative *awiatorka* shows a similar range of concrete senses as the word *pilotka* ‘female pilot.’ As shown by Google searches, the noun *awiatorka* can denote a type of jacket worn by pilots, that is, a sheepskin leather flight jacket (<http://polki.pl/moda-iuroda/slownik,awiatorka,11796,slowo.html>), or a leather cap (see *czapka pilotka awiatorka* can denote <http://www.sterkowski.pl/czapki/424-pilotka-z-maski-i-kolnierzem-kozuch-wegiel.htm>).

¹⁵ Some of those occurrences are not female agentive nouns since they denote a pilot’s cap, or they occur as names of a (female) cat called *Pilotka*.

- ‘the only female pilot of supersonic Concorde’ (NKJP_Gazeta Krakowska)
 b) *Dlaczego pilot kobieta, a nie zdrowy,*
 why pilot.NOM.M woman.NOM.F and not healthy.NOM.M
duży i silny mężczyzna?
 big.NOM.M and strong.NOM.M man.NOM.M
 ‘Why a female co-driver, and not a healthy, big and strong man?’
 (NKJP_Dziennik Polski)

Interestingly, while there are no examples in the NKJP corpus of the plural nominative form *kobiety piloci* (lit. women.NOM.F pilots.NOM.M) or the plural form *piloci-kobiety* (lit. pilots.NOM.M women.NOM.F), there are three attestations of the juxtaposition *kobiety pilotki* (lit. women.NOM.F female_pilots.NOM.F), in which both constituents are marked for female gender and the second element terminates in the *-ka* suffix.

- (17) *Pracowało w ATA 14 polskich pilotów i*
 worked.3N.SG. in ATA 14 Polish.GEN pilots.GEN.M and
3 kobiety pilotki [...]
 3women.NOM.F female_pilots.NOM.F
 ‘There worked in the ATA (Air Transport Auxiliary) fourteen Polish (male) pilots and three women-pilots [...].’ (NKJP_Dziennik Zachodni)

There are nine examples of the polite form *pani pilot* (lit. madam.F pilot.M) in the corpus. The example quoted below shows that the noun *pilot* ‘pilot’ is not inflected when it is preceded by the constituent *pani* ‘madam.’

- (18) *media nagłośniły błąd tureckiej pani pilot [...]*
 media.NOM.PL publicized.3PL error.ACC Turkish.F madam.GEN.F pilot.GEN
 ‘The mistake of the Turkish woman pilot was publicized in the media.’
 (NKJP_Polska Głos Wielkopolski)

Furthermore, there occurs one example of the N+N combination *panie pilotki* (lit. mesdames.NOM.F female_pilots.NOM.F), where both constituents signal female gender.

- (19) *Mamy wspaniałe panie pilotki*
 have.1PL wonderful.ACC.PL.F mesdames.ACC.F female_pilots.ACC.F
konstruktorki samolotów [...]
 female_designers.ACC.F planes.GEN.M
 ‘We have wonderful female pilots and aircraft designers.’ (NKJP_Dziennik Zachodni)

6. The headedness of juxtapositions in Polish

The expressions *kobieta-pilot* (lit. woman.F pilot.M), *kobieta pilotka* (lit. woman.F female_pilot.F), and *pilot kobieta* (lit. pilot.M woman.F) resemble in certain respects English appositional compounds, such as *woman pilot* and *girl pilot*. Cetnarowska (2016) argues that Polish N+N juxtapositions, such as *żona prawnik* (lit. wife.F lawyer.M) ‘lawyer wife’ or *kelner-barman* (lit. waiter.M bartender.M) ‘waiter-bartender,’ can be treated as a subtype of appositional compounds. Both constituents of a juxtaposition are important semantically and can be regarded as its semantic heads. The (somewhat limited) reversibility of those constituents, exemplified by *kobieta-pilot* and *pilot-kobieta*, is analogous to the reversibility of *pilot girl* and *girl pilot*.¹⁶ Kallas (1980: 131) observes that the order of the constituents in N+N juxtapositions in Polish reflects the order in which new information is introduced. *Kobieta-pilot* (lit. woman.F pilot.M) can be paraphrased as ‘a woman who is a pilot,’ while *pilot-kobieta* (lit. pilot.M woman.F) means ‘a pilot who is a woman.’

Inflectional endings can be attached to both constituents of Sex+Profession juxtapositions in Polish, as shown by *kobiety-piloci* (lit. women.NOM.F pilots.NOM.M), *kobiety-pilotki* (lit. women.NOM.F female_pilots.NOM.F), and *pilotem-kobietą* (lit. pilot.INS.M women.INS.F). It can be assumed that both constituents function as morphosyntactic heads.¹⁷ The phrases in (19) indicate that the pre-modifying adjective agrees in gender with the left-hand constituent of a N-N juxtaposition.

- (20) a) *najlepsza kobieta pilot*
 best.NOM.F woman.NOM.F pilot.NOM.M
 ‘the best woman pilot’
 b) *pierwszy pilot kobieta*
 first.NOM.M pilot.NOM.M woman.NOM.F
 ‘the first female pilot’

Thus, it is the left-hand constituent that determines the grammatical gender of the whole juxtaposition and can be recognized as the morphological head (in the sense of the term employed by Masini and Scalise 2013).

¹⁶ The potential Profession+Sex juxtaposition *?pilotki panie* (lit. female_pilots.F mesdames.F) is infelicitous and unattested since the second constituent would be redundant. Furthermore, the order of constituents cannot be changed in the juxtaposition *pani pilot* (lit. madam.F pilot.M).

¹⁷ The situation is more complex in the case of the juxtaposition *pani pilot* (lit. madam pilot), where the second constituent takes no inflectional ending (as shown in 18).

7. Conclusions

Speakers of English as well as speakers of Polish have at their disposal several methods of forming female counterparts of masculine (or gender-neutral) names of professions. This was demonstrated above by analyzing expressions referring to women who operate aircraft. The English-language corpus data (from COCA, supplemented by Google searches) indicate that English speakers commonly make use of the syntactic means of coining female terms, by adding the premodifying adjective *female* to a job title, as in *female pilots*. Another common method exemplified by the data from COCA is the formation of N+N compounds with the constituent *woman*, *lady*, or *girl*, as in *woman pilot*, *lady pilot*, and *pilot girl*. It was argued in this paper that such compounds belong to appositional ones, given the (potential or actual) reversibility of their constituents and their status as two semantic heads. As far as the location of the morphosyntactic head in appositional Sex+Profession compounds is concerned, the compound *pilot girls* is right-headed, while the compound *women pilots* contains two morphosyntactic heads. There exists a suffixal derived noun denoting a female pilot, namely *aviatrix*, yet its use in COCA is restricted. Moreover, while the appositional compound *woman pilot* is a neutral term, the other Sex+Profession compounds discussed above, namely *lady pilot* and *pilot girl*, carry some evaluative connotations.

The translation equivalent of the English word *pilot* in Polish, namely the noun *pilot*, exhibits more senses than the corresponding English word, among others, the senses 'a travel guide' and 'a navigator of a rally car.' When expressions which are female counterparts of the Polish word *pilot* are investigated in the NKJP corpus, it turns out that the most frequent term is the suffixal derivative *pilotka* 'female pilot,' in spite of its ambiguity between the personal and concrete (object) readings. The other mechanism of forming female nouns exemplified by the names of female pilots in Polish is the formation of Sex+Profession juxtapositions. Some N+N juxtapositions, such as *kobieta pilot* (lit. woman.F pilot.M), *pilot-kobieta* (lit. pilot.M woman.F), and *pani pilot* (lit. madam.F pilot.M), contain only one constituent which marks female gender. Other juxtapositions attested in the corpus consist of two nouns, both of which signal the female referent, for example, *kobiety pilotki* (lit. women.F female_pilots.F) and *panie pilotki* (lit. mesdames.F female_pilots.F). Juxtapositions are often regarded by Polish scholars as syntactic units (e.g., by Kallas 1980); yet it was argued here that such juxtapositions as *pilot kobieta* or *kobieta pilot* exhibit properties of appositional combinations (similar to English N+N appositional compounds).

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Corpora

COCA – Corpus of Contemporary American English. Available at: corpus.byu.edu/coca/
NKJP – Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego. Available at: nkjp.pl

Dictionaries and other electronic sources

Babylon Dictionary. Available at: <http://dictionary.babylon-software.com/>
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<http://polki.pl/moda-iuroda/slownik,awiatorka,11796,slovo.html/>
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